

The Democratic Pioneer.

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ELIZABETH CITY, N. C., TUESDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 21, 1858.

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DEMOCRATIC PIONEER.

B. GODWIN, Editor.

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1858.

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"THE STATES"

TO BE CONSOLIDATED.

AN ARRANGEMENT HAS BEEN

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editor of the Richmond South, and the

proprietor of this paper, The States, by

which the South and the States are to be

consolidated into one paper, to be published

in this city, in an enlarged form, and to be

under the editorial control of Mr. Pryor.

The paper will be the organ of no person

or party, but devoted to the general inter-

ests of the Democratic party, in accordance

with the principles of State rights Democracy.

Mr. Pryor will undertake the editorial

control of the paper between the 20th of

this month and the 1st of December.

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Democratic Pioneer.

THE JOLLY MARINER.

A BALLAD, BY JOHN G. SAGE.

It was a jolly mariner

As ever hove a log;

He wore his trowsers wide and free,

And always ate his prog.

And blessed his eyes, in sailor-wise,

And never shirked his prog.

Up spoke this jolly mariner,

Whilst walking up and down;

The bring sea has picked me up,

And done me very brown;

But here I go, in these here clothes,

A-cruising in the town!

The first of all the curious things

That can be devised for me to meet,

As this undaunted mariner

Went sailing up the street,

Was, tripping with a little cane,

A dandy all complete!

He stopped,—that a jolly mariner,—

And eyed the stranger well;

"What that may be," he said, says he,

"Is more than I can tell;

But never before, on sea or shore,

Was such a heavy swell!"

He me a lady in her hoops,

And thus she heard him hail:

Now blow me tight!—but there's a sight

To manage in a gale;

I never saw so small a craft

With such a spread of sail!

Observe the craft before and aft,—

She'd make a pretty prize!"

And then, in that improper way,

He spoke about his eyes,

That mariners are wont to use,

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Before Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives.

When we compare the condition of the country at the present day with what it was one year ago, at the meeting of Congress, we have much reason for gratitude to that Almighty Providence, which has never failed to interpose for our relief, at the most critical periods of our history. One year ago, the sectional strife between the North and the South, on the dangerous subject of slavery, had again become so intense as to threaten the peace and perpetuity of the confederacy. The application for admission of Kansas as a State into the Union, fostered this unhappy agitation, and brought the whole subject once more before Congress. It was the desire of every patriot that such measures of legislation might be adopted, as would remove the excitement from the States, and confine it to the Territory where it legitimately belonged. Much has been done, I am happy to say, towards the accomplishment of this object, during the last session of Congress.

The Supreme Court of the United States had previously decided, that all American citizens have an equal right to take into the Territories whatever is held as property under the laws of any of the States, and to hold such property there under the guardianship of the federal constitution, so long as the territorial condition shall remain.

This is now a well-established position, and the proceedings of the last session alone wanting to give it practical effect. The principle has been recognized, in some form or other, by an almost unanimous vote of both houses of Congress, that a Territory has a right to come into the Union either as a free or a slave State, according to the will of a majority of its people. The just equality of all the States has thus been vindicated, and a fruitful source of dangerous dissension among them has been removed.

Whilst such has been the beneficial tendency of your legislative proceedings on the subject of Kansas, their influence has not been so happy as within that Territory itself. Left to manage and control its affairs in its own way, without the aid of external influence, the revolutionary Topeka organization and all resistance to the territorial government established by Congress, have been finally abandoned. As a natural consequence, the Territory now appears to be tranquil and prosperous, and is attracting increasing thousands of immigrants to make it their happy home.

The past unfortunate experience of Kansas has enforced the lesson so often solemnly taught, that resistance to lawful authority, under our form of government, cannot fail in the end to prove disastrous to its authors. Had the people of the Territory yielded obedience to the laws enacted by their legislature, it would at the present moment have contained a large additional population of industrious and enterprising citizens, who have been deterred from entering its borders by the existence of civil strife and organized rebellion.

It was the resistance to lawful authority, the preserving attempts to establish a revolutionary government under the Topeka constitution, which caused the people of Kansas to commit the grave error of refusing to vote for delegates to the convention to frame a constitution, under a law enacted to be fair and just in its provisions. This refusal to vote has been the prolific source of all the evils which have followed. In their hostility to the territorial government, they disregarded the principle, absolutely essential to the working of our form of government, that a majority of those who vote—not the majority who may remain at home, from whatever cause—must decide the result of an election. For this reason, seeking to take advantage of their own error, they denied the authority of the convention thus elected to frame a constitution.

The civil war, notwithstanding, proceeded to adopt a constitution unexpected in its general features, and providing for the submission of the slavery question to a vote of the people, which in its opinion, they were bound to do, under the Kansas and Nebraska act. This was the all-important question which had none convulsed the Territory; and yet the opponents of the lawful government, persisting in their first error, refrained from exercising their right to vote, and preferred that slavery should continue rather than surrender their revolutionary Topeka organization.

A worse and better spirit seemed to prevail before the first Monday of January last, when an election was held under the constitution. A majority of the people voted for a governor and other State officers, for a member of Congress, and members of the State legislature. This election was warmly contested by the two political parties in Kansas, and a greater vote was polled than at any previous election. A large majority of the members of the legislature elected belonged to that party which had previously refused to vote. The new slavery party were thus placed in the ascendant, and in the political power the State was in their own hands. Had Congress admitted Kansas into the Union under the Lecompton constitution, the legislature, at its very first session, have submitted the question to a vote of the people, whether they would or would not have a constitution to amend their constitution, and have adopted all necessary laws or giving effect to the will of the majority. Thus the Kansas question would have been immediately and finally settled.

Under these circumstances, I submitted to Congress the constitution thus framed, with all the officers already elected necessary to put the State government into operation, accompanied by a strong recommendation in favor of the admission of Kansas as a State. In the course of my long public life I have never performed any official act which, in the retrospect, has afforded me more heart-felt satisfaction. Its admission could have inflicted no possible injury on any human being; whilst it would within a brief period, have restored peace to Kansas and harmony to the Union. In that event the slavery question would have been finally settled, according to the legally-expressed will of a majority of the voters, and popular sovereignty would thus have been vindicated in a constitutional manner.

With my deep convictions of duty, I could have pursued no other course. It is true, that, as an individual, I had expressed an opinion, both before and during the session of the convention, in favor of

submitting the remaining clauses of the constitution, as well as that concerning slavery, to the people. But acting in an official character, neither myself nor any human authority had the power to renege the proceedings of the convention, and declared the constitution which it had framed to be a nullity. To have done this would have been a violation of the Kansas and Nebraska act, which left the people of the Territory "perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the constitution of the United States." It would equally have violated the great principle of popular sovereignty, at the foundation of our institutions, to deprive the people of the power, if they thought proper to exercise it, of confiding to delegates elected by themselves the trust of framing a constitution, without requiring them to subject their constituents to the trouble, expense, and delay of a second election. It would have been in opposition to many precedents in our history, commencing in the very best age of the republic, of the admission of Territories as States into the Union, without a previous vote of the people approving their constitution.

It is to be lamented that a question so insignificant when viewed in its practical effects on the people of Kansas, whether decided one way or the other, should have kindled such a flame of excitement throughout the country. This reflection may prove to be a lesson of wisdom and of warning for our future guidance. Practically considered, the question is simply whether the people of that Territory should first come into the Union and then change any provision in their constitution not agreeable to themselves, or accomplish the very same object by remaining out of the Union and framing a new constitution in accordance with their will? In either case, the result would be precisely the same. The only difference in some point of fact is, that the object would have been much sooner attained, and the pacification of Kansas more speedily effected, had it been admitted as a State during the last session of Congress.

My recommendation, however, for the immediate admission of Kansas, failed to meet the approbation of Congress. They deemed it wiser to adopt a different measure for the settlement of the question. For my own part, I should have been willing to yield myself almost any constitutional measure to accomplish this object. I, therefore, cordially acquiesced in what has been called the English Compromise, and approved the "Act for the admission of the State of Kansas into the Union," upon the terms therein prescribed.

Under the ordinance which accompanied the Lecompton constitution, the people of Kansas had claimed double the quantity of public lands for the support of common schools, which had ever been previously granted to any State upon entering the Union; and also the alternate sections of lands for twelve miles on each side of two railroads proposed to be constructed from the northern to the southern boundary, and from the eastern to the western boundary of the State. Congress, deeming these claims unreasonable, provided, by act of May 4, 1858, to which I have just referred, for the admission of the State on an equal footing with the original States, but "upon the fundamental condition precedent" that a majority of the people thereof, at an election to be held for that purpose, should, in place of the very large grants of public lands which they had demanded under the ordinance, accept such grants as had been made to Minnesota and other new States. Under this act, should a majority reject the proposition offered them, it shall be deemed and held that the people of Kansas do not desire admission into the Union with said constitution, and the conditions set forth in said proposition. In that event, the act authorizes the people of the Territory to elect delegates to form a constitution and State government for themselves, "whenever, and not before, it is ascertained by a census, duly and legally taken, that the population of said Territory equals or exceeds the ratio of representation required for a member of the House of Representatives." The delegate thus assembled "shall first determine by a vote whether it is the wish of the people of the proposed State to be admitted into the Union at that time, and, if so, shall proceed to form a constitution, and take all necessary steps for the establishment of a State government in conformity with the federal constitution." After this constitution shall have been formed, Congress, carrying out the principles of popular sovereignty and noninterference, have left "the mode and manner of its approval or ratification by the people of the proposed State" to be "prescribed by law," and they "shall then be admitted into the Union as a State under such constitution thus fairly and legally made, with or without slavery, as said constitution may prescribe."

An election was held throughout Kansas, in pursuance of the provisions of the act, on the second day of August last, and it resulted in the rejection by a large majority of the proposition submitted to the people by Congress. This being the case, they are now authorized to form another constitution, preparatory to admission into the Union, but not until their number, as ascertained by a census, shall equal or exceed the ratio required to elect a member to the House of Representatives.

It is not probable, in the present state of the case, that a third constitution can be lawfully framed and presented to Congress by Kansas, before its population shall have reached the designated number. Nor is it to be presumed that, after their sad experience in resisting the territorial laws, they will attempt to adopt a constitution in express violation of the provisions of an act of Congress. During the session of 1856, much of the time of Congress was occupied on the question of admitting Kansas under the Topeka constitution. Again, nearly the whole of the last session was devoted to the question of its admission under the Lecompton constitution. Surely it is not unreasonable to require the people of Kansas to wait, before making a third attempt, until the number of their inhabitants shall amount to ninety-three thousand four hundred and twenty. During this brief period the harmony of the States, as well as the great business interests of the country, demand that the people of the Union shall not for a third time be convulsed by another agitation on the Kansas question. By waiting for a short time, and acting in obedience to law, Kansas will glide into the Union without the slightest impediment.

This excellent provision, which Congress have applied to Kansas, ought to be extended and rendered applicable to all

Territories which may hereafter seek admission into the Union.

Whilst Congress possess the undoubted power of admitting a new State into the Union, however small may be the number of its inhabitants, yet this power ought not, in my opinion, to be exercised before the population shall amount to the ratio required by the act for the admission of Kansas. Had this been previously the rule, the country would have escaped all the evils and misfortunes to which it has been exposed by the Kansas question.

Of course, it would be unjust to give this rule a retrospective application, and exclude a State which, acting upon the past practice of the government, has already formed its constitution, elected its legislature and other officers, and is now prepared to enter the Union.

The rule ought to be adopted, whether we consider its bearing on the people of the Territories or upon the people of the existing States. Many of the serious dissensions which have prevailed in Congress and throughout the country, would have been avoided, had this rule been established at an earlier period of the government.

Immediately upon the formation of a new Territory, people from different States and from foreign countries rush into it, for the laudable purpose of improving their condition. Their first duty to themselves is to open and cultivate farms, to construct roads, to establish schools, to erect places of religious worship and to devote their energies generally to reclaim the wilderness and to lay the foundations of a flourishing and prosperous commonwealth. If, in this incipient condition, they should prematurely enter the Union, they are oppressed by the burden of State taxation, and the means necessary for the improvement of the Territory and the advancement of their own interests are thus diverted to very different purposes.

The federal government has ever been a liberal parent to the Territories, and a generous contributor to the useful enterprises of the early settlers. It has paid the expenses of their governments and legislative assemblies out of the common treasury, and thus relieved them from a heavy charge. Under the circumstances, nothing can be better calculated to retard our material progress, than to divert them from their useful employments, by prematurely exciting angry political contests among themselves, for the benefit of aspiring leaders. It is surely no hardship for embryo governors, senators, and members of Congress, to wait until the number of inhabitants shall equal those of a single congressional district. They surely ought not to be permitted to rush into the Union, with a population less than one half of several of the large counties in the interior of some of the States. This was the condition of Kansas when it made application to be admitted under the Topeka constitution. Besides, it requires some time to render the mass of a population collected in a new Territory, at all homogeneous, and to unite them on anything like a fixed policy. Establish the rule, and all will look forward to it and govern themselves accordingly.

But justice to the people of the several States requires that this rule should be established by Congress. Each State is entitled to two senators and at least one representative in Congress. Should the people of the States fail to elect a Vice-President, the power devolves upon the Senate to select this officer from the two highest candidates on the list. In case of the death of the President, the Vice-President thus elected by the Senate, becomes President of the United States. On all questions of legislation, the senators from the smallest States of the Union have an equal vote with those from the largest. The same may be said in regard to the ratification of treaties, and of Executive appointments. All this has worked admirably in practice, whilst it conforms in principle with the character of a government instituted by sovereign States. I presume no American citizen would desire the slightest change in the arrangement. Still it is not unjust and unequal to the existing States, to invest some forty or fifty thousand people collected in a Territory with the attributes of sovereignty, and place them on an equal footing with Virginia and New York in the Senate of the United States?

For these reasons, I earnestly recommend the passage of a general act, which shall provide that upon the application of a territorial legislature, declaring their belief that the Territory contains a number of inhabitants which, if in a State, would entitle them to elect a member of Congress, it shall be the duty of the President to cause a census of the inhabitants to be taken, and if found sufficient, then by the terms of this act to authorize them to proceed "in their own way" to frame a State constitution preparatory to admission into the Union. I also recommend that an appropriation may be made, to enable the President to take a census of the people of Kansas.

The present condition of the Territory of Utah, when contrasted with what it was one year ago, is a subject for congratulation. It was then in a state of open rebellion, and, as it might, the character of the government required that the rebellion should be suppressed, and the Mormons compelled to yield obedience to the constitution and the laws. In order to accomplish this object, as I informed you in my last annual message, I appointed a new governor instead of Brigham Young, and other federal officers to take the place of those who, consulting their personal safety, had found it necessary to withdraw from the Territory. To protect these civil officers, and to aid them, as a posse comitatus, in the execution of the laws in case of need, I ordered a detachment of the army to accompany them to Utah. The necessity for adopting these measures is now demonstrated.

On the 15th September, 1857, Governor Young issued his proclamation; in the style of an independent sovereign, announcing his purpose to resist by force of arms the entry of the United States troops into our own Territory of Utah. By this he required all the forces in the Territory, to "hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's notice to repel any and all such invasion; and established martial law from its date throughout the Territory. These proved to be idle threats. Fort Bridger and Supply were vacated and burnt down by the Mormons, to deprive our troops of a shelter after their long and fatiguing march. Orders were issued by Daniel H. Wells, styling himself "Lieutenant General Nauvoo Legion," to "demand the animals of the United States troops on their march, to set fire to their

trains, to burn the grain and the whole country before them and on their flanks, to keep them from sleeping by night, to surprise, and to blockade the roads by felling trees, and destroying the fords of rivers, &c.

These orders were promptly and effectually obeyed. On the 4th October, 1857, the Mormons captured and burned on Green River three of our supply trains, consisting of seventy-five wagons loaded with provisions and tents for the army, and drove away several hundred animals. This diminished the supply of provisions so materially, that General Johnston was obliged to reduce the ration, and even with this precaution, there was only sufficient left to sustain the troops until the first of June.

Our little army behaved admirably in these trying circumstances. In the midst of the mountains, in a dreary, unsettled, and inhospitable region, more than a thousand miles from home, they passed the severe and inclement winter without a murmur. They looked forward with confidence for relief from their country in due season, and in this they were not disappointed.

The Secretary of War employed all his energies to forward them the necessary supplies and to muster and send such a military force to Utah as would render resistance on the part of the Mormons hopeless, and thus terminate the war without the effusion of blood. In his efforts he was efficiently sustained by Congress. They granted appropriations sufficient to cover the deficiency thus necessarily created, and also provided for raising two regiments of volunteers for the purpose of quelling disturbances in the Territory of Utah, for the protection of supply and emigrant trains, and the suppression of Indian hostilities on the frontiers. Happily, there was no occasion to call these regiments into service. If there had been, I should have felt serious embarrassment in selecting them so great was the number of our brave and patriotic citizens anxious to serve their country in this distant and apparently dangerous exhibition. Thus it has ever been, and thus may it ever be.

The wisdom and economy of sending sufficient reinforcements to Utah are established not only by the event, but in the opinion of those who, from their position and opportunities, are the most capable of forming a correct judgment. General Johnston, the commander of the forces, in addressing the Secretary of War from Fort Bridger, under date of October 18, 1857, expresses the opinion, that "unless a large force is sent here, from the nature of the country, a protracted war on their (the Mormons) part is inevitable." This he considered necessary, to terminate the war "speedily and more economically than if attempted by insufficient means."

I am happy to inform you, that the governor and other civil officers in Utah are now performing their appropriate functions without resistance. The authority of the Constitution and the laws has been fully restored, and peace prevails throughout the Territory.

A portion of the troops sent to Utah are now encamped in Cedar Valley, forty-four miles southwest of Salt Lake City, and the remainder have been ordered to Oregon to suppress Indian hostilities.

The march of the army to Salt Lake City, through the Indian Territory, has had a powerful effect in restraining the hostile feelings against the United States, which existed among the Indians in that region, and in securing emigrants to the Far West against their depredations. This will also be the means of establishing military posts and promoting settlements along the route.

I recommend that the benefits of our land laws and pre-emption system be extended to the people of Utah, by the establishment of a land office in that Territory.

I have occasion also to congratulate you on the result of our negotiations with China.

You were informed by my last annual message, that our minister had been instructed to occupy a neutral position in the hostilities conducted by Great Britain and France against Canton. He was, however, at the same time directed to co-operate cordially with the British and French ministers, in all peaceful measures to secure by treaty those just concessions to foreign commerce, which the nations of the world had a right to demand. It was impossible for me to proceed further than this, on my own authority, without usurping the war-making power, which, under the Constitution, belongs exclusively to Congress.

Besides, after a careful examination of the nature and extent of our grievances, I did not believe they were of such a pressing and aggravated character as would have justified Congress in declaring war against the Chinese empire, without first making another earnest attempt to adjust them by peaceful negotiation. I was more inclined to the opinion, because of the severe chastisement which had then but recently been inflicted upon the Chinese by our squadron, in its capture and destruction of the Barrier forts, to avenge an alleged insult to our flag.

The event has proved the wisdom of our neutrality. Our minister has executed his instructions with eminent skill and ability. In conjunction with the Russian plenipotentiary, he has peacefully, but effectively co-operated with the English and French plenipotentiaries; and each of the four powers has concluded a separate treaty with China, of a highly satisfactory character. The treaty concluded by our own plenipotentiary will immediately be submitted to the Senate.

I am happy to announce that, through the energetic yet conciliatory efforts of our consul general in Japan, a new treaty has been concluded with that empire, which may be expected materially to augment our trade and intercourse in that quarter, and remove from our countrymen the disabilities which have heretofore been imposed upon the exercise of their religion. The treaty shall be submitted to the Senate for approval without delay.

It is my earnest desire that every misunderstanding with the government of Great Britain should be amicably and peaceably adjusted. It has been the misfortune of both countries almost ever since the period of the revolution, to have been annoyed by a succession of irritating and dangerous questions, threatening their friendly relations. This has partially prevented the full development of those feelings of mutual friendship between the people of the two countries, so natural to themselves and so conducive to their common interest. A serious interruption of the commerce between the U. States and Great Britain, would be equally inju-

rious to both. In fact, no two nations have ever existed on the face of the earth, which could do each other so much good or so much harm.

Relinquishing these sentiments, I am gratified to inform you, that the long-pending controversy between the two governments, in relation to the question of visitation and search, has been amicably adjusted. The claim on the part of Great Britain, forcibly to visit American vessels on the high seas in time of peace, could not be sustained under the law of nations, and it had been overruled by her own eminent jurists. This question was recently brought to an issue, by the repeated acts of British cruisers, in boarding and searching our private vessels in the Gulf of Mexico and the adjacent seas. These acts were the more injurious and annoying, as these waters are traversed by a large portion of the commerce and navigation of the United States, and their free and unobstructed use is essential to the security of the entire trade between different States of the Union. Such vexatious interruptions could not fail to excite the feelings of the country, and to require the interposition of the government. Remonstrances were addressed to the British government against these violations of the rights of sovereignty, and a naval force was at the same time ordered to the Cuban waters with directions "to protect all vessels of the United States on the high seas, from search or detention by the vessels of any other nation." These measures received the unqualified and even enthusiastic approbation of the American people. Most fortunately, however, no collision took place, and the British government promptly avowed its recognition of the principles of international law upon this subject, as laid down by the government of the United States, in the note of the Secretary of State to the British minister at Washington, of April 10, 1858, which secured the vessels of the United States upon the high seas from visitation or search in time of peace, under any circumstances whatever. The claim has been abandoned in a manner reflecting honor on the British government, and evincing a just regard for the law of nations, and cannot fail to strengthen the amicable relations between the two countries.

The British government, at the same time, proposed to the United States that some mode should be adopted, by mutual arrangement between the two countries, of a character which may be found effective without being offensive, for verifying the nationality of vessels suspected on good grounds of carrying false colors. They have also invited the United States to take the initiative, and propose measures for this purpose. Whilst declining to assume so grave a responsibility, the Secretary of State has informed the British government that we are ready to receive any proposals which they may feel disposed to offer, having this object in view, and to consider them in an amicable spirit. A strong opinion is, however, expressed, that the occasional abuse of the flag of any nation, is an evil far less to be deprecated, than would be the establishment of any regulations which might be incompatible with the freedom of the seas. This government has very recently no communication specifying the manner in which the British government would propose to carry out their suggestion; and I am inclined to believe, that no plan which can be devised, will be free from grave embarrassments. Still, I shall form no decided opinion on the subject, until I shall have carefully and in the best spirit, examined any proposals which they may think proper to make.

I can truly say I cannot also inform you that the complications between Great Britain and the United States, arising out of the Clayton and Bulwer treaty of April, 1850, have been finally adjusted.

At the commencement of your last session, I had reason to hope that, emancipating themselves from further unavailing discussions, the two governments would proceed to settle the Central American questions in a practical manner, alike honorable and satisfactory to both; and this hope I have not yet abandoned. In my last annual message, I stated that overtures had been made by the British government for this purpose, in a friendly spirit, which I cordially reciprocated. Their proposal was to withdraw these questions from direct negotiation between the two governments; but to accomplish the same object, by a negotiation between the British government and each of the Central American republics whose territorial interests are immediately involved. The settlement was to be made in accordance with the general tenor of the interpretation placed upon the Clayton and Bulwer treaty by the United States, with certain modifications. As negotiations are still pending upon this basis, it would not be proper for me now to communicate their present condition. A final settlement of these questions is greatly to be desired as this would wipe out the last remaining subject of dispute between the two countries.

Our relations with the great empires of France and Russia, as well as with all other governments on the continents of Europe, except that of Spain, continue to be of the most friendly character.

With Spain our relations remain in an unsatisfactory condition. In my message of December last, I informed you that our envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Madrid had asked for his recall; and it was my purpose to send out a new minister to that court, with special instructions on all questions pending between the two governments, and with a determination to have them speedily and amicably adjusted, if that were possible. This purpose has been hitherto defeated by causes which I need not enumerate.

The mission to Spain has been intrusted to a distinguished citizen of Kentucky, who will proceed to Madrid without delay, and make another and final attempt to obtain justice from that government.

Spanish officials under the direct control of the captain general of Cuba, have insulted our national flag, and, in repeated instances, have from time to time inflicted injuries on the persons and property of our citizens. These have given birth to numerous claims against the Spanish government, the merits of which have been already discussed for a series of years, by our successive diplomatic representatives. Notwithstanding this, we have not arrived at a practical result in any single instance, unless we may except the case of the Black Warrior under the late administration; and that presented an outrage of such a character as would have justified an immediate resort to war. All our attempts to obtain redress have been baffled and defeated. The frequent and oft-recurring changes in the Spanish ministry, have been

employed as reasons for delay. We have been compelled to wait, again and again, until the new minister shall have had time to investigate the justice of our demands.

The truth is that Cuba, in its existing colonial condition, is a constant source of injury and annoyance to the American people. It is the only spot in the civilized world where the African slave-trade is tolerated; and we are bound by treaty with Great Britain, to maintain a naval force on the coast of Africa, at much expense both of life and treasure, solely for the purpose of arresting slavers bound to that island. The late serious difficulties between the United States and Great Britain respecting the right of search, now so happily terminated could never have arisen if Cuba had not afforded a market for slaves. As long as this market shall remain open, there can be no hope for the civilization of benighted Africa. Whilst the demand for slaves continues in Cuba war will be waged among the petty and barbarous chiefs in Africa, for the purpose of seizing subjects to supply this trade. In such a condition of affairs, it is impossible that the light of civilization and religion can ever penetrate these dark abodes.

It has been made known to the world by my predecessors, that the United States have, on several occasions, endeavored to acquire Cuba from Spain by honorable negotiation. If this were accomplished, the last relic of the African slave trade would instantly disappear. We would not, if we could, acquire Cuba in any other manner. This is due to our national character. All the territory which we have acquired since the origin of the government, has been by fair purchase from France, Spain, and Mexico, or by the free and voluntary act of the independent States of Texas, in blending her destinies with our own. This course we shall ever pursue, unless circumstances should occur, which we do not now anticipate, rendering a departure from it clearly justifiable, under the imperative and overruling law of self-preservation.

The Island of Cuba from its geographical position, commands the mouth of the Mississippi, and the immense and annually increasing trade, foreign and coastwise, from the valley of that noble river, now embracing half the sovereign States of the Union. With that Island under the dominion of a distant foreign power, this trade of vital importance to these States, is exposed to the danger of being destroyed in time of war, and it has hitherto been subjected to perpetual injury and annoyance in time of peace. Our relations with Spain, which ought to be of the most friendly character, must always be placed in jeopardy, whilst the existing colonial government over the Island shall remain in its present condition.

Whilst the possession of the Island would be of vast importance to the United States, its value to Spain is, comparatively, unimportant. Such was the relative situation of the parties, when the great Napoleon transferred Louisiana to the United States. Jealous, as he ever was, of the national honor and of interests of France, no person throughout the world has imputed blame to him, for accepting a pecuniary equivalent for this concession.

The publicity which has been given to our former negotiations upon this subject, and the large appropriation which may be required to effect the purpose, render it expedient, before making another attempt to renew the negotiation, that I should lay the whole subject before Congress. This is especially necessary, as it may become indispensable to success, that I should be intrusted with the means of making an advance to the Spanish government immediately after the signing of the treaty, without awaiting the ratification of it by the Senate. I am encouraged to make this suggestion, by the example of Mr. Jefferson previous to the purchase of Louisiana from France, and by that of Mr. Polk in view of the acquisition of territory from Mexico. I refer the whole subject to Congress, and commend it to their careful consideration.

In reference to the Panama route, the United States, by their existing treaty with New Grenada, expressly guarantee the neutrality of the Isthmus, "with the view that the free transit from the one to the other sea may not be interrupted or embarrassed in any future time while this treaty exists."

In regard to the Tehantepec route, which has been recently opened under the most favorable auspices, our treaty with Mexico of the 30th December, 1853, secures to the citizens of the United States the "right of transit over it for their persons and merchandise, and stipulates that neither government shall "interpose any obstacle" thereto. It also concedes to the United States the "right to transport across the isthmus, in closed bags, the mails of the United States not intended for distribution along the line of the communication; also, the effects of the United States government and its citizens, which may be intended for transit, and not for distribution on the Isthmus, free of custom-house or other charges by the Mexican government."

These treaty stipulations with New Grenada and Mexico, in addition to the considerations applicable to the Nicaragua route, seem to require legislation for the purpose of carrying them into effect.

The public expenditures during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1858, amounted to eighty-one million five hundred and eighty-five thousand six hundred and sixty-six dollars and seventy-six cents (\$81,585,667 76), of which nine million six hundred and eighty-four thousand five hundred and thirty-seven dollars and ninety-nine cents (\$9,684,537 99) were applied to the payment of the public debt, and the redemption of treasury notes with the interest thereon, having in the treasury on July 1, 1858, being the commencement of the present fiscal year, six million three hundred and ninety-eight thousand three hundred and sixteen dollars and ten cents; (\$6,398,816 10.)

The receipts into the treasury, during the first quarter of the present fiscal year, commencing the 1st July, 1858, including one-half of the loan of twenty millions of dollars, with the premium upon it, authorized by the act of 14th June, 1858, were twenty-five million two hundred and thirty thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine dollars and forty-six cents, (\$25,230,879 46), and the estimated receipts for the remaining three quarters to the 30th June, 1859, from ordinary sources, are thirty-eight million five hundred thousand dollars, (\$38,500,000,) making, with the balance before stated, an aggregate of sev-

enty million one hundred and twenty thousand one hundred and ninety-five dollars and fifty-five cents, (\$70,129,194 55.)

In addition to this sum, the Postmaster General will require from the treasury, for the service of the Post Office Department, three million eight hundred and thirty-eight thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight dollars, (\$3,838,738,) as explained in the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, which will increase the estimated deficit on the 30th June, 1860, to seven million nine hundred and fourteen thousand five hundred and seventy-six dollars and eighty-nine cents, (\$7,914,676 89). To provide for the payment of this extraordinary deficiency, which will be increased by such appropriations as may be made by Congress, not estimated for in the report of the Treasury Department, as well as to provide for the gradual redemption, from notes, the Secretary of the Treasury recommends such a revision of the present tariff as will raise the required amount. After what I have already said, I need scarcely add that I concur in the opinion, that the public debt should not be increased by an additional loan, and would therefore strongly urge upon Congress the duty of making at their present session, the necessary provision for meeting these liabilities.

The public debt on the 1st July, 1858, the commencement of the present fiscal year, was \$25,155,977 66. During the first quarter of the present year, the sum of \$10,000,000 has been negotiated of the loan authorized by the act of 14th June, 1858,—making the present outstanding public debt, exclusive of treasury notes, \$35,155,977 66. There was on the 1st July, 1858, of treasury notes issued by authority of the act of August 23, 1857, unredeemed, the sum of \$19,754,800,—making the amount of said indebtedness, at that date, \$54,910,777 66. To this will be added \$10,000,000 during the present fiscal year,—leaving the remaining half of the loan of \$20,000,000 not yet authorized.

The Postmaster General is placing in a most embarrassing position by his extravagant demands. He is obliged to carry on his office. He has no other alternative. He finds, however, that this cannot be done without heavy demands upon the treasury over and above what is really for postage; and these have been progressively increasing from year to year until they amounted for the last fiscal year, ending on the 30th June, 1858, to more than four millions and a half of dollars whilst it is estimated that for the present fiscal year they will amount to \$5,250,000. These sums are exclusive of the appropriation of \$700,000 for "compensation for the mail service performed by the two houses of Congress and the departments and officers of the government in the transportation of freight."

The cause of these large deficits is principally attributable to the increased expense of transporting the mails. In 1852 the cost paid for this service was but a fraction above four millions and a quarter. Since that year it has annually increased, and in 1858 it has reached more than ten millions and a quarter; and for the service of 1859, it is estimated that it will amount to more than ten millions of dollars.

The receipts of the Post Office Department can be made to approach only its expenditure, only by means of the taxation of Congress. In applying remedies, care should be taken that the people shall not be deprived of the advantages, which they are fairly entitled to from the Post Office Department. The principal remedies recommended by the Postmaster General, are to restore the former rate of postage upon single letters to five cents to substitute for the franking privilege delivery to those now entitled to it, of office stamps for their correspondence, to direct the department, in making contracts for the transportation of the mails, to confine itself to the payment of the necessary for this single purpose, and not requiring it to be transported in coaches or carriages of any particular description. Under the present system, expense to government is greatly increased by requiring that the mail shall be conveyed in such vehicles as will accommodate passengers. This will be done without, from the department, over all roads, the travel will remunerate the contractor. These recommendations deserve grave consideration of Congress.

I recommend to your favorable consideration the local interests of the District of Columbia. As the residence of Congress and executive departments of the government, we cannot fail to feel a concern in its welfare. This is heightened by the high character and the peaceful and orderly conduct of its resident inhabitants.

I cannot conclude without performing an agreeable duty of expressing my gratification, that Congress so kindly received the recommendation of my last annual message, by affording me sufficient time for the close of their late session, for the examination of all the bills presented for approval. This change in the mode of Congress, has proved to be a great reform. It exerted a beneficial influence on the transaction of legislative business, and elicited the general approbation of the country. It enabled Congress to deliberate with that dignity and deliberation, and to bring to the people, in the form of appropriation bills provisions for their nature, and of doubtful expediency. Let me strongly commend this practice, as I have already by themselves, as a precedent for proceedings during the present session.

JAMES BUCHANAN, President.

WASHINGTON CITY, December 27, 1858.

ST. MARY'S SCHOOL, RALPHIGH, N.C. Rev. ALBERT SNEDECOR, D.D. Rt. Rev. T. ATKINSON, D.D. The thirty-first term of 1858. For a circular containing full particulars, apply to the Rector.

STICK OF A BILL.—I have brought this bill until I am fairly sick and tired, and I will not be a collector to a collector, whom he had called at least 400 times. "You are, eh? coolly rejoined the doctor. "Yes I am," was the response, "then, you had better not present it. There will be two of us placed on the floor to tell the truth, I am tired of seeing that identical bill."

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